/579 cont./

225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tēpē̆a (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hášaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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225 431 577

Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ámа (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeámа (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

183 /804 cont./
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

●571 Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
156 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so. Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

X881

As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

/887 cont./
children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To [431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they pro-
vide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner
by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinsfolk and friends among themselves; the uš̌wä̤la are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned
savages! Nevertheless the attention of the uš̌wä̤la is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
888 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their
decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

X881 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward
626 devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X881 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

B. Special Formalities

X881 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only
577 to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to
[177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the čiexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uswąala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

/908 cont./

is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uswála are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

/909 cont./

X881 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the
●577 beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all un-
516 necessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the ʏiẽxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his in-
577 structions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or
201 solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite no-
577 ticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all
513 to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the ʏiẽxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

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881 577 513 [152] the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a [198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hṑ, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hṑ. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

881 513 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hṑ which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uswāala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

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426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual
•577 assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from
[574] far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings.

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674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 ●577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

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673 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in
•577 mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:152 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

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183 626 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen seem force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper habits. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watauinéwa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 577 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for something among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

1: Gusinde--913 G-6 (1918-1924) 1937 S98 Yahgan S98

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156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
• 577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the
help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[577] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers in-
sistently demands that one person willingly aid another whatever
it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM:IX, 116;1872) confirms
> this: "The wandering habits of the natives
> result in making them servile to each other.
> Not knowing whom he may meet in any
> place, yet having to seek shelter with any
> one he may find there, a native would find
> it very awkward then to meet a man and his
> friends whose enmity he had incurred,
> causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follows we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Yamana are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Fuegians, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty than are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p.314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the children in the Lehre. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Yamana feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438); it gives him

438. Dabbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects....one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in most of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Lovisato (b):148 or with Bove (e):159 and (g):234: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the parents, he says, are solely "governed by

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love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

/1019 cont./ friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribesman.

Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

/1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

/1025 cont./

627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

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442. Compare Gusinde (ℓ):169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g):58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1026/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 626 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Fuegians derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tauwárū, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

/1026 cont./

577 626 or clansmen of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreatment of him when living" /cited in English/. Bridges (MM:XIII, 153;1879) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence: "There was a man named Muriyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Detamahgan, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Muriyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Muriyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of these he had occasion to fear" /cited in English/. Moreover, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Yamana never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

888 The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fitz-Roy (a):186 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /cited in English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1027/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

443. Fitz-Roy (a):179 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /cited in English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative; when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave inconspicuously

/1027 cont./

888 and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition; he is, therefore, a living example and a constant admonisher for the younger tribal members.

2. General Welfare

•577 A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

888 737 Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Yamana, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility; in fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is probably never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Hyades (d):308 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (La Nature:311), and Despard (b):698 asserts that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself; otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridges (a):205 reports, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every /1028/ season, and if the aged man is a

/1085 cont./

111 Inasmuch as we have a considerable number of well documented details, the result of painstaking research and of a method which is beyond criticism and can always /1086/ be examined, it will not be difficult for anyone to recognize the facts and abandon the long-held and widespread, but erroneous opinion that the Yamana are absolutely irreligious.

d. General Moral Precepts

• 511 The social life of our Fuegians and the behavior of individuals, regardless of age and sex, are regulated by definite, unchanging principles that obligate all tribal members without exception. They alone assure the tranquil continuance of the tribal society and guarantee peaceful coexistence for all its parts. These principles constitute the morals or the general moral precepts, and they, of course, reach beyond actual sexual morals and mere rules for external social intercourse.

This presupposes that our natives actually do have a moral consciousness. Obviously they do not lack the capacity for moral judgments and actions; they bring it into the world as a normal endowment of Mother Nature. With it goes an urge to exercise their spiritual power in the direction of what is good and just and to avoid what is unjust and impermissible. Conscience, which our Fuegians by no means lack, guides their unerring judgment in these matters. It teaches everyone the objective and subjective value of moral goodness and dictates the behavior of the will. To be sure these words describe a general human tendency, but one must state them specifically for the Yamana also (cf. Gusinde [e]: 159), for there is no lack of assertions to the contrary. Disregarding older statements, I shall here give space only to the amazing words of someone like Spegazzini (a):176, who spent insufficient time in Tierra del Fuego: "The Fuegians do not know this social convention that we call morals. They perform the natural functions of life, of any kind, in public, and what we call virtue exists only in rudimentary form among the women and, before marriage, consists of a reserve in granting their favors and of fidelity on the part of married women" /translated from Spanish/.

/1086 cont./

511 This opinion diverges considerably from reality and is invalidated, for example, by the following words of Bridges (k):238: "The ideas of this tribe with respect to good and bad are similar to those that prevail everywhere. Anything morally bad is also physically bad and, consequently, is condemned, not by the one who commits the act but by the one who suffers the consequences. In the same way, that which is just, right, and good is nearly always recommended because of its utility. But nowhere does the utilitarian system lead to virtue, and thus we see that bad is committed by those who in principle condemn it, and virtue, recommended by all, is practiced by few. It follows, then, /1087/ that in condemning others for what one does himself, a man always likewise condemns himself as a sinner. Virtue is praised by those who do not practice it" /translated from Spanish/. Although much of this seems inaccurate, he at least credits the Fuegians with a capacity for moral judgment (25). Hyades (q):

> 25. Bridges (k):234 supplements his statement as follows: "It was said that they were anthropophagi and it was believed that they lived without any notion of social order. But when they became better known, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that come from family life" /translated from Spanish/.

242 in his concise way judges more pertinently: "It is certain that the Fuegians have the feeling for good and bad and that they do not lack a moral sense" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):197 seems a little reserved in his opinion: "As to the moral qualities of the Yahgan, it can be said that, while they do not have much virtue, neither do they have great faults, and they do not wholly lack a moral sense" /translated from Spanish/. Thus he, too, sees in these Indians the universal human tendency toward morality.

The many facts which have been recounted in the preceding pages speak decisively for themselves; it is superfluous to give

/1087 cont./

517 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the uswáala in the ciéxaus (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed...Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

517 116 The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

/1088 cont./

577 776 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidábuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

577 834

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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517 834 /1089 cont./

Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (i):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a consciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

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children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

517 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (i):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

/1089 cont./

577 [562] and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp. 574 , 943), and widows (p. 412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegians, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 629), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

/1090 cont./

577 conditions. Actual barter and the distribution of hunting spoils, reciprocal visits and groups affairs, such as the čiẽxaus and kina, take place according to definite, unchanging rules. Although tribal members are not united under a common chief (p. 601), they nevertheless feel and act homogeneously, guided and obligated by one and the same tradition which, though unwritten, is like a book of laws. No one would venture to neglect it and go his own way or even less to oppose it with scornful comments. There is actually an unseen power of state (p. 635), even though it is limited.

As is convincingly proved in real life, this long list of rules and regulations is perfectly familiar to every Fuegian; he conforms to it with more or less punctilious faithfulness.

2. Their Originality

577 626 One would be doing the Yamana a grave injustice to disparage or to be suspicious of their honest attitude toward the individual demands of their moral law. The experiences of reliable Europeans contradict the very general accusation of Bridges (h): 205 that they are "immoral and lewd in their behavior and conversation" /translated from Spanish/ (29). Every Fuegian regards

> 29. Interpretations of their conceptions of morality and their conduct from the obviously prejudiced point of view of someone like Spegazzini (a):177, for example, do not deserve to be specifically mentioned.

conformity to the demands of the moral precepts as a compulsory obligation. In his youth he is given ample instruction within and outside the family, as well as compulsory training as uswãala in the čiẽxaus. In later life he is supported and spurred on, even against his own will and personal indolence, by the example of the people generally. Anyone who habitually dared to ignore important rules, especially those pertaining to social intercourse, would be putting himself in an impossible situation. Actually many a person, out of pure human weakness, becomes negligent in his

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577 626 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171]

30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 776 626 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswāala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 776 626 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that Watauinēiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever dream of asking what justification Watauinēiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 626 This way of thinking implies the close connection between religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

> 31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinēiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

> 32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

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517 624 fear of punishment is heightened by the idea that the individual human being has no chance to rectify or be absolved of his transgression in any way, either by prayer or sacrifice. He must yield to whatever fate "that-one-up-there" inflicts upon him. He is Abáila, the truly strong one towering over all, with whom no one can compete. A person who does his duty, however, feels safe under the benevolence and special protection of Hidábuan; hence he must fare well. An evil-doer, on the other hand, in view of the punishment which is almost sure to follow, will never again feel quite safe. In his evident lack of success in hunting and in all his work he can see clear threats calling for the severest atonement, namely, untimely death. There is also the attitude of fellow-tribesmen against the evil-doer who forgets his duty. They ignore him and obviously avoid associating with him; they cast aspersions on him and warn him about his delinquency. They give him no rest and even pursue him if he is a murderer or adulterer. In such a way the society itself takes part in the prosecution of punishment for a crime. No one, however, speaks of punishment which the culprit is to expect in the other world because in general the Yamana maintain that they do not know what form of existence the soul has there. Thus, since everyone knows that adverse and baleful consequences follow wrong-doing, this knowledge gives a person sufficient strength to stay on the path of universally binding duty.

511 Actually, conditions in the simple social organization of our Fuegians are more orderly, principled, and peaceful than many Europeans might believe, although they neither have a police force and courts of justice nor are under the leadership of chiefs. Their bleak homeland and their meager way of life have made them undemanding and content. Licentiousness and cruelty could not become doctrine among them. There are all kinds of circumstances that lift their personal and general morality above that of other primitive peoples.

000 /1093/ On the preceding pages the position and the relationship of our Fuegians to the deity they recognize have been characterized, as is required by the concept religion in its narrower sense. Their relations with other spirits and mythological personalities, which shall be discussed later, are very different.

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157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

351. Along with these words Hyades (q):244 also offers a special section entitled "Expression des émotions."

human. This is corroborated by the opinions assembled here and the many accounts on the preceding pages. Even Darwin (f):I, 234 confesses: "When I lived with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' I was constantly surprised by many minor character traits which showed how similar their mental characteristics were to our own."

156 577 The character formation just described is fostered by the many principles that are followed in training the young in the parental hut (p.704). No less beneficial for adults is the pressure for many kinds of social duties (p.905). Morality in the widest sense of the term is held in universal esteem (p.1022); the majority of tribal members try to fulfill their duty faithfully. Even Bridges (e):333 did not suppress the following acknowledgment: "Among the Yahgan, vices of all kinds were condemned on account of their evil consequences, while virtue, because of its good results, was recommended." Once again it is to be admitted that many a Fuegian stays on the proper path, especially in the realm of sexual morality, primarily because he wishes to retain his good reputation among his neighbors. The feeling for proper modesty, more among women than men (352), and for justice in general is

352. Snow (a):I, 306, 349 expressed his astonishment at this a number of times. He (b):282 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (d):368, too, declares:

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (h):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):239 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 353 /untranslated/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

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What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167:1859).